1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is improbable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These reference books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.[8] (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in accordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198.---Analyst]

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Papaztecpatl, Itzac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

532 And they represented the mountains, they made their
782 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
made in human form, made to look like men.

755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoton].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
hold the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepictons] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepictons] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictons were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictons, round tamales which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictons].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
463] people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictons [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictons
figures made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused us be] fashioned the Tepictons there-
upon returned to his quarters, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

papaztecpatl, itzac tepetl, poiauhtecatl' ynin in qep
quenqui[n]tl tepetl in qui[n]nemaz in quipiqui.

Auh in quipiqui[n]qui, in qui[n]nipalehuia in tenpa, qui
tzonilli, quipiztacatlalnia, quipiztacatlachichiltia, tlacatlachi-
caxcatl:

qui[n]tlatlania xiuhchilli, auh in qui[n]tzolcotlania xiccalli:
in quenami[n] yuhqui[n] in qui[n]ripalania, in qui[n]piqui[n]
qui[n] no inhqui[n] yuh qui[n]chichiuia.

Auh ynin qui[n]chiuia, amatemitl, colchochapetztia,
colchipinia, qui[n]quetzalmitia:

auh in cequi amatetelel, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapo-
talli, tecatitech qui[n]pilouia, tecatitech qui[n]nenechilpiaia,
qui[n]nenechpalouia, ynin[qui]n antoc, ic itzocuepa in
tepictoc:

hiçanacotoc papapatlacotoc, papatlanotoc, ceceppiquauitl,
acoc, nenecuc, necococampa tlatlalectiuac, cuentzolcac, yn
itech antoc teuuitl.

Auh nihcaxinti, tlaxinlapanti, tlaxinxuctli: ynin[qui]n
nanauac, chalchihuicalli ipan pouia, uctli tuca ça, uctli ic
nanauac.

Auh ça ixhuac in tlamacazqui, yn ixquich, in
nechicaqui cuca, yn qui[n]chichiuia, in qui[n]tlalaia: aiac
ça no mo[n]ixuiaia, in calla in qui[n]chichiuia.

Auh macuiltica in qui[n]tlalhuiaia, ninon: qui[n]mohualtia
in tlamacazqui:

yn o ic cauhqui tepictoc, ninon ic ic qui[n]ceppoltia,
qui[n]cuepuia:

in ceiuiuh tapa in qui[n]tlamanjlia, tamalolli in
qui[n]nacaia, qui[n]nanaia ynin[qui]n, in tlamacazqui, in
tepictocuja:

no tapa in qui[n]tlamacaia ceiuiuh, ynon qui[n]tlapichtiliaia,

qui[n]nenequipa[n]tilinia tecacintli in qui[n]pichtiliaia, ynon
vilacapitzli, cuenca[n]tl,

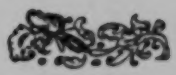
vilacapitzmia, ça tlapopochtl, papaqui[n], huexinti,
tolinixtiani, tecomatlahuac, oceloque, no tlamacazqui.

Auh yn oduxtic ninon qui[n]mictia yn tepictoc, qui[n]quech-
cotona, qui[n]quechcuj, qui[n]quechtlacatona, çanpan qui[n]tem-
olohua, cuechcuj, in tepictzintli, qui[n]qui yn calnecuc yn
tenpa tenopa, tlamacazqui.

Auh in tepiquipa[n], ninon in yc calaquih yn itlamacazcal-
huan, yn ipouhcan, tecan tenpia, nenpiloque:

auh in ic ixuiuh, in ic tetlo: ninon in ic tlacuxa,
motlacuecuelaloa in tecuitlaca, yn ic chicuepa, yn oduhti-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Papaztecpatl and Itzac tepetl (Itzac cloud) are mountain-gods in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl in Mt. Orizaba.
118. Made of dough (tzoalli), in the Spanish editions; Sobre cuerpos o ymagenes hechas de Semillas (Ximenez Fragoso, p. 27).
119. ". . . sobre papeles llenos de goma de ule, o los vsaban papeles llenados enuarnizados" (Sahagún, Historia general, Vol. 1, p. 130).



The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes enjnētes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armā fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecuezcozcatl*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Misplaced sentence. Consider to close one.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: hazia tābien vnos troços de palo gruesos como la muñeca largos llamauanlos Ecatotonti: ahi a estos como a las culebras los investian cō aquella masa que llamā tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Despues que cō muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauā tepexoch; la segūda llamauā Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Xochtecatl: la quarta llamauā Mayauel, y al hombre llamauā Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cō muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy ataujadas, hasta donde las aujā de matar.

X 796 [266] [289]

After they had slain them and torn out their hearts, they took them away gently, rolling them down the steps. When they had reached the bottom, they cut off their heads and inserted a rod through them, and they carried the bodies to the houses which they called *calpulli*, where they divided them up in order to eat them. The papers with which they arrayed the images of the mountains, after they had broken them to pieces in order to eat them, they hung in the tribal temple. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast, which are set down at length in its account.

Despues que las ouieron muerto, y sacados los coraçones: lleuauanlas passo rodando por las gradas abaxo: llegadas abaxo cortauanlas las cabeças, y espetauanlas en vn palo, y los cuerpos lleuauanlos a las casas que llamauan Calpul: donde los repartian para comer: los papeles con que adereçauan las ymagenes de los montes despues de averlas desbaratado para comer, colgauanlos en el Calpul. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes deciseis llamauan Atemoztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los sátrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque veniesse el agua.

796 [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Cap. 16.
Atemoztli.

Quando començaua a tronar los sátrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezinueue dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para ofrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

[314] [834]

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *ixtetli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Llegados á la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y stauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los dientes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman ixcuili: y luego les ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adoraua.

[778] [289] [324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauales las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[413 286]

1. Marginal notation: *Answering[illegible] empty.*
2. Marginal notation: *Dezembre los dias xxxij.*
3. Marginal notation: *Repetition Asist Mark V.*

785 X 796 463

fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 [776] [288]

In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 273 [776] [463] [415]

In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second house, which is called ome xochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 [309] [43]

In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

[346]

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called calmecac, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, seaujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama ome tuchtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comida, y cantauan, y tañian delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de polcre, y hinchianle los que. eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujl: los taberneros yuan cosando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los dj de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde moravan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn monas-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: deuian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas ordornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y arreytes, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796 [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce [illegible], in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchihuhtli [illegible]. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

776 463

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le baptizar. Quando le bautizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallasen presentes al baptismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los niños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha ceremonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La setzena decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

X 796 [805]

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloc.

[202]

Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[789]

At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuexmanali*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[771 827]

And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

[202 314 289]

And everywhere, in the houses, in each house, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Jnic 20. capitvlo, ytzchpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlacalitli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl mexitli; in qujnocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl caualo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eua, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlacalaia, in noujan tepetiçpac, yoã netetreuhtililoia, onnextlacalaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in tetrujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, motzenoa cuexmanali, viujtlaczoc, çan iiech ietiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujnoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in motenoaia tlacatetreuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoãntin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian quiquetzaia, matlaquiauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauujtl, iiech qujtlatlaliaia amatetrujtl, vitica tlaulchipinilli, tlavichachapatztli.

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1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "*Ilhuimatlatli.*—Adoracion.—*Cuahuitlehua.*—*Cihuatlapol. Ichcamatlatli*, ofrenda de ropa ó plumas; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. *Cuahuichtaca*, guarnicion de los árboles: nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. *Atlehuaoaloa ó Atlaoaloaloa*, nombre admirado por los mexicanos, segun el P. Leon, ántorcion de las aguas, y es la interpretacion de todas que nada nos satisface. *Cohuatlapol*, fiesta de la culebra. El sinodo refugeno en la crónica de Tlaloc y su ritual recomiendo, con el agua entre las raices." Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atemhuitzi o Atlacahualco, significa la ascensión del agua, pues en el mes de marzo crecen las fuentes del cocotero en los países septentrionales, en donde mora segun el calendario mexicano el solsticio. *La llamaban también Quauhcahuitlehua, la que significa la exaltación de los árboles, que se cortaban en este tiempo en los países frios. Los mexicanos llamaban a este mes Ichcamatlatlauli, esto es, oblación de las mantas de nada, porque en él ofrecian a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar los mercaderes que por este tiempo acostumbran a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuitl ehua* as *palo se alza*. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt und erläutert* (Canales Seler Serie, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the terms as *der Baume erheben sich (machen sich auf den Weg)*.

2. *Nextlacalaia*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *Indices to Alonso de Molina: Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Jesús Piedrahita, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903), and to Remi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1990), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices at the rain god were called *nextlacalli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *teuuatl* as *cosa sagrada*.

4. In his *art.*, Garibay renders *tlacatetreuhtli* as *tenti hombres* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sentence No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferstreifen* (*Opferpapiere or Menschenpapiere*). They may actually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*papeles, llenos de goma de olli a los quales pegaban hermosos ornamentos.*" *Tlauhchapopotli*: cf. *chapopotzin*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmonecaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecă miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, inclacatecujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tliltic, chichiltic ic oconquj.

Jnjc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlă, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in ատ itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, coçtlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miqujia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcoanquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujxçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[6] Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is an added complexity. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*en esta sierra semejante que esta sierra del Tlatelulco.*"

[7] *Yiapaltic*. Sahagún (Spanish text) has *amarronado* (dusky red, flesh colored); later he has *bermejo* (Sun colored, yellow) for *yiapalli*. For *papeles*, Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 36) has *grisáceos*; Jiménez (*op. cit.*), *cosas teñidas de negro*; Bierhorst (*op. cit.*), *brown or black*.

[8] The Spanish text explains: "*se nos dieron nombres que estos eran grandísimos.*"

[9] *Loc. cit.*: "*en aquel cerrezuelo, que esta dentro desta laguna, frontero del derribadero.*"

[10] *Loc. cit.*: "*en un sitio, que esta en las barrancas de Tlatelulco, y allí cabe aquestotro.*"

[11] *Loc. cit.*: "*en un sitio que esta cabe dicho sitio.*"

[12] Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 37) reads *pantalones*, which he translates as *they significantly have*.

[13] Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiéronles unas alas de papel como mapeles.*"

feathers; and in these [the children][13] were Kept?

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, which:

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh ẽappa teixpan neci, teixpan quixtilo, teixtilo, teiximachtilo, quinclamamaca, quinmamaca yn inmamachichioal:

ynic ceppa maco, ynic chichicalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn imamatlatiquj.

Inic vppa iztac, yn imamachichioal.

Inic expa, oc cepa iehoatl yn intlatiquj ieiuh, tlauhio.

Inic nappa, iztac,

iccen quinchichicaia, iccen quinmacaia, iccen quinquj, ynic ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic quixtlatlatizque, ynic ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oconmoxque ça iccen quicuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

axcmo quipatla, axcmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinoalhoanchichiua.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in malc, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icni iztac tzoliujtica.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlaquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatzonjaia, çan ipan momalinotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujcla, çan ic tetlatitia, ynic oconno ynnal:

yoan ychimal ieiuh, ynac maoiuh, ic momamatiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ieiuh, chicaoçoiuh, quixtlquetziuh in chicaoztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh nuchinti, iuh nuchichicaia, yn inquichtin, malcque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oconmoxque, yn iquac occic ilhujd tlacaxipeualiztli.

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search and University of Utah, 1970). Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. IX), p. 13. On use of warm paper, and its relevance to Aztec texts, see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 10.

Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

in çaço aquin connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlacelcujaia in mihiyintia telpopochti.

Auh cequintin ic monextoltia, yn coatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

cecciaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaqujtiuj in coatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamâtiuh, yoan in tlanitico.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aixnamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

Auh yn coatl, ocototzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiquijuhtica qujnapaloa, yn ouelteoac, yn oquelochauh, oquappi'zoac.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan..uj in tototecti, intlatlema, intlatlema ietiuh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaanquj, yhujtenoaanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

Auh yn oxioac, yn coatlatiloian, yn ic pac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa cecciaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

Auh yn onacticac coatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin coatl, contlaça ica onmaisuj yn ozioc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiqujça, qujoaltentiqujça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

Auh yn oqujcaoato coatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaolhextli, inic onmixxaxaqualooa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexuja:

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6. See Chapter 20, n. 1.
7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *cuecuepalli* as *kunterfarbene* or as *orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kunterfarbenen* (*von der braunen Farbe der Kruditen der Bunten ähnlich*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado carmesi*.
For *quelochauh*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*kunterfarbenen* (*von der Farbe des Nüchtell, der Kakao-Schälkase*)."
8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and illus., p. 531.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. These who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncā oneoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo quinmamatiloaia, çan quintlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiacaliztli. Auh no yquac, netzompaco in tlamanj, mocopaca, mamouja: 796[K] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, ic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, quinmochiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotiquic:

auh çatepan itoalco, quiquetza in male, quitlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech quitlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[K] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlaelittalli chicaoac: ic no ceppa ic ic muchichioaia, ipan tetonoca, tececenmana, tlacatl quicocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, quicacalatztiuh ychicaoaz quicaoatztiuj, quitetoca, q'tepachotiuj, quitecicali:

muchi tlacatl quimauhtia, ipan macâuj: quitoa, le uitz tetzompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca quicujtiuetzi, quipepetlaoa, quitlatlalochtia yn jtilma: in quezquj quitecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic quiujuiequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco quiquetza, itlacaxipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic quinextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[K] 778

Auh yoan yn iquac y, tlascopiloaia: auh ynaca oc conchololtiaia, yn iquextepol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, xxtapatlactontli itech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quextepolli, amatica quiquiquimiloaia, quixaiacatiaia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteutl. [289]

9. Molina: *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section (*xabon*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro.*"
11. *Ibid.*: "*paxaro sobre los pequeños con que se suele adereçado, el tercero quando muerto.*"
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses*, p. 93, n. 1: *netzompaquj*—"*C'est-à-dire que celuyci (parlé) le calçoyent, le vestoyt (tuoit), en remplissant tellement, que d'emplire celuy-là remplissoyent pour dire: vuide d'une bonne famille).*" This would imply a double meaning.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was thus suspended. Seler, in *Besige Kapitel*, p. 91, has "trophy."
14. *Cohuapaxoxouhcatl*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *ancuiuitl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[18] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan ui vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquauhtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque:

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ezttapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalozque, ynjc monapaloz ymaxtli:

ezcan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc ezcan, vncan yn jmamaçocan:

[796] [778] [352 532] [824] [292] [293 237] [237] [532] [289 292] [411] [411 237]

18. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 69, 72 esp. In the Bahnedo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Siler defines *quauhamatl* as "lo mesmo mencionado por lo cupo de libro de algunos árboles de grueso tiene. Servia de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer los adornos, camisas y otras alajas que el culto de los dioses requeria."

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[18] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with hemp lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomoola:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmixtaioujia, qujmixtaioquauhoatza:

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujtonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãlãtla.

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujcaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, motzoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica:

yoan iztêteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tliltica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acxilquj:

auh in motlacamati, cansoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama.

qujpeoaltilia yn cioa in netotiliztli, ynic mjtoia chocholos, çan mocioaittoia: auh in cioa çan tlatic in manj, yn jnteteuh coonemauja, qujtotitimanj,

18. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[16] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocateucujtla cẽca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn ceonmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaque, quijacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauiçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in oelecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixooa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totoca, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçcani: in aquin iacattiuh, qujmotzolooquiça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "Los sacrapay, de la diosa chicome coatl" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "Estos se subian, cuando era el propósito, que se llamaban [dé] la misa de cinilobuchtli" (loc. cit.). *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli, illustrates it. Paso y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
17. *Xinhotontli*, in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is defined as male rumpe. Sin, however, p. 12, p. 62.
18. "Pongnolo abaxo, en su lugar que se llamava cuauhpd, que era su esquele, que auja entre las gradas del cu, y el patio abaxo, al qual esquele subia por dentro, e sayr, gradas" (corresponding Spanish text).

and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

qujntlapichilitivitze, iuhquin tlacaoacativitz, njmã ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mjchioauhtli an quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in ter:vitl, yoan qujmõequja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaioac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impã qujtlaliaia:

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan itqujch in qujntlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

Injc ce itoca Tepoxoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaioalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: *"La cabeça de cada vn muneco tenjа dos cuеrnos, vna de persona, y otra de culebra. . . ."*
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), *"vnabase o vnavan hechos de hava, vnabas con vnyas de cuеrno."*
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 114.
12. In the Rahmsdo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *otzalli* is explained: *"Hay otra que se llama tzompalli, es muy sorda y tiene unas colitas hazen como aquella hierba que se llama otzalli y crian cerca del agua, y entonces se suelen enxeri los dientes cuando la comen."*

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And thus they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry stiff and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular mats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they cared for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mist House. Only the paper vestments they [thus] scattered; the circular mats they returned to their houses.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, ieccan moquetza, mochi iancujc, in intech qujtlalitaia in incue, in invipil, yoā moxaoa, mopotonja. [796] [202]

Auh in otlaimmātic in ie iquac mjqujzque: njmā ie ic qujteca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, qujmoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oqujmonaxitique, mec qujmōteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequjpaneque, in temjctianj: njmā ie ic qujmeltetequj.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omic̄oque, njmā ic qujnoaltemovia: auh injc qujnoaltemovia, çan qujnoalmjmjlotivi, cenca çan quēmach, in qujncuecuepti-vitze.

Auh in oqujmōquechcotonque, in intlac: njmā ie tzompantitlan: auh in oqujmonaxitique, njmā ic qujnquechtequj, qujnquechcotona: vncā qujmōçoço in intzontecō.

Auh in qujmōquechcotonque, in intlac: njmā ie qujvica in incacalpolco: auh in jmuztlaioc, in ocallatvic: in mjtoaia, Texinjlo, texixitinjlo: njmā ie ic qujxitinja in tzoalli: auh in oqujxixitinjque, njmā ic tlapanco qujtlecavia, vmpa oaquj, quauhvaquj, tepioaquj: achchi concujtivi in qujqua, can juh qujtlamja. [778]

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Auh in jmamatlatquj ocatca, qujquequentia in jiaoallo ocatca: auh in oqujquequētique calquac compiloa, calpulco, çe xivitl qujmattiuh, in qujtlaçativi, in qujtepeoativi, in vmpa aiaubcalco: çanjo in jmamatlatquj, contepeoa: auh in inoalli qujoalitquj. [289]

Nican tlamj in jlhujtl, in motenecoa Tepeilhujtl.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlalocs descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlalocs. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *maguey* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in quichioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtoltetl occe metztli in motenoa Atemuztli.

Injc caxtoltetl, occe ilhujtl ichoatl in motenoa Atemuztli:

injc motenoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, cacalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: quitoaia in jxquich macoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuitica, tlateumattica, muchixcaca, motemachitica: in quenmā oalanjx qujavitl:

auh in ocalan qujavjtl, njmā ic moquetztiqujça, quicujtivetzi in jtlema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan quiça: auh in jxcontecon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo:

njmā quixopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiaubtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian quiça in teujtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic quinotza in tlaloque, ic quiauhtlatlanj.

Auh in cequjntin maccoalti, monetoltiaia injc tepiquixque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in quicoaia:

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yoan quinecaviliaia injc tepiquixque, yoā tequentizque: amo mamoviaia injc maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oquichcochia.

Auh in ic iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh cioal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "*Bajada de el Agua*," according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 299), "*porque este Mes cada Vez, y cuyo siguiente Alua.*" Cuevas, (*op. cit.*, p. 313) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tovar refers to frequent, extraordinary deluges in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kohler and Olivera, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
2. The *Palacio MS* (Cuevas, *loc. cit.*) places this in the house of the sick: "*la enfermeria de ichuchos contrahechos*"—"*en cada casa de los viejos se hazian los dichos ydolos* (Tezcatlipoca)."
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

796 778 And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After [237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs [532] and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [289] [breech clout was][7] only of paper: it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife as the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ie utlacat, njmā quixquapotonja, yoan quichioa, ixtlā tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaçalolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoā yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatelcujlolli: no itech pilcaia motenteoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icāc texutli, yoan tēcuxtli yoā icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmā contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmā ie ic in tozpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhçuexpalli, yoā itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, quimololotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj quimoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj quimolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncā icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imāxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaquittli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacaxilquj, auh injquezpan quimamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, moteneoa: Tevevēlli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic quicentzitzquja in jchimāl yoan iopochmacuez imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica*, sp.?); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*; *Boreapidácea originária* Knuchii Choisy ("*quemadora*," "*ortiga*"); and *W. cavaleriei* - H. B. K. ("*ortiga de tierra caliente*"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496, writes of *chichicaxtle*: "*la ortiga americana. . . . La especie principal es la Jatropha urens L. . . . En México, planta herbácea, semiespadosa, cunida en las aceas aldeas y empleada*" (*Mikania denticulata*, *Eupatorium denticulatum*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, mala mujer, quemador, chichicastillo, pechinche, en México.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicaxtli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jaq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *yoā*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 500, has supplied *-maxtli*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the omission is *-maxtli*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *amatl-amatl* is given as "*amate, thickly fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety*"; from bull's horn acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia conocidisima por la cosa de lilar de algunos árboles del género ficus. Servía de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las alcabuas, vestidos y otras alhajas que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323
2,000 pottery bowls**
●289]
8,000 reams of native paper**

651
632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24ᵛ and 25ᵛ of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling.
[128] This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present
103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[29] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[30]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[31] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[32]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[29] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[30] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[31] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[32] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

chilacaxtli = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli*, teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes*, though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone*, whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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443 262 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough [445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold 443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each [322 854] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and 373] other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many [28] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the 364] creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen [364 laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that 514] on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is [314 called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full 289 of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort [386 are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under 276] the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There [693 are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, 344] and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect [324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches